

Monday, July 10, 1961

1

RECEPTION HELD BY CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF C.P.S.U.  
AND COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF U.S.S.R. FOR GRADUATES OF  
MILITARY ACADEMIES

On July 8, 1961, officers who have just graduated from military academies gathered in the conference hall of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet. The Soviet Army and Navy have received a fresh reinforcement of highly qualified military specialists. Each of them has years of hard intense studies behind him. Present in the hall were their teachers and professors, famous generals, who with great enthusiasm had conveyed their knowledge, their rich theoretical and practical experience to the students of higher military educational establishments. Officers and generals of the armies of the fraternal socialist countries, graduates of Soviet military academies, also attended the reception.

All of them came to the Grand Kremlin Palace to the traditional reception given by the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. and the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R.

The meeting with the leaders of the Party and Government was a noteworthy event in the lives of all those present in the Palace. The feeling of elation which gripped them found expression in the ardent and prolonged applause with which they met the appearance in the presidium of L.I. Brezhnev, F.R. Kozlov, A.N. Kosygin, A.I. Mikoyan, D.S. Polyansky, Y.A. Furtseva, N.S. Khrushchov, V.V. Grishin, and others.

The meeting was opened by the U.S.S.R. Minister of Defence, Marshal of the Soviet Union R.Y. Malinovsky.

Speech by N.S. Khrushchov

Dear comrades,

Today we mark the graduation by our military academies of a new detachment of highly skilled officers.

May I on behalf of the Central Committee of our Party, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the Soviet Government heartily congratulate the graduates of the academies and wish you big successes in that important activity you are called upon to conduct in military units. (Stormy applause.)

The Soviet people love their own Army, they are proud of those who dedicate their life to building up the Armed Forces, strengthening the defensive potential of our great Homeland! (Prolonged applause.)

I congratulate the professors, teachers, the entire staff of the academies who have worked hard to impart to the students the necessary knowledge, to help them master the latest achievements of contemporary military science. (Prolonged applause.)

Monday, July 10, 1961

-2-

1

We greet the officers from the socialist countries who have finished military academies this year. We wholeheartedly wish you to work fruitfully on strengthening the fraternal armies for the good of your peoples, for the sake of the interests of the entire socialist camp. (Prolonged applause.)

Comrades, you have finished your studies and will soon be sent to military units. Each of you can and must make his worthy contribution to the great and honourable cause of strengthening the Armed Forces of the Soviet Union. You must always bear in mind that the Soviet people, the Communist Party and the Government entrusted the Soviet soldiers with the defence of the achievements of the October Revolution, the achievements of socialism, attained under the leadership of the Party of the great Lenin. (Stormy applause.)

The Armed Forces of the Soviet Union and the fraternal socialist countries stand guard over our splendid present and the still brighter future to which our peoples are advancing under the banner of Marxism-Leninism.

Our entire country is preparing for the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The special importance of the 22nd Congress lies in the fact that it will adopt a new Party Program which will lay down the principal tasks in economic and cultural developments, in foreign policy and in the communist education of the people. The Program will chart the concrete ways of the Soviet people's movement towards communism.

Before long all Soviet citizens will be able to acquaint themselves with this highly important document and to rejoice at the future of their country which in the next two decades will achieve magnificent successes in the advance of the economy and culture, in the rise in the living standards of the Soviet people. In its economic development the Soviet Union will outstrip the major capitalist countries. (Applause.)

Comrades, the Soviet Union is a profoundly peace-loving state. There is no other country in the world which has done so much to safeguard a lasting peace and international cooperation.

The Soviet Union has been exerting tremendous efforts in order to reach agreement on disarmament with strict international control. The idea of general and complete disarmament, advanced by the Soviet Government, has been unanimously approved by the United Nations General Assembly and met with broad support in all countries of the world.

However, as the talks have shown, the ruling quarters of the western powers, while paying lip-service to the idea of disarmament, do not really want it. Of late they have even been afraid of mentioning general and complete disarmament.

Monday, July 10, 1961

-3-

1

They seek to confine the matter to control over armaments, placing under their control, above all, the up-to-date types of Soviet armaments and military equipment.

The Western powers even frustrate the reaching of agreement on the cessation of nuclear weapons tests by refusing us an equal status in the control agency. They would like to see a system of verification of the cessation of nuclear tests functioning in our country while we would essentially be kept away from participation in the work of control agencies. There would be nothing for us to do but submit to the decisions of an international administrator, a kind of new Hammarskjöld.

Today it is acknowledged in the West that the forces of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are not inferior to the forces of the Western powers. However, the proper conclusions are not drawn from this fact: given equal forces, there must also be equal rights and equal opportunities. Yet our partners, acknowledging that the balance of power has tilted not in their favour, nevertheless want to dominate in international agencies and impose their will on them.

In the solution of the disarmament problem and other international issues, the Soviet Government does not seek to place the Western powers in an unequal position. But we will never forego our interests.

The Soviet Union has always been ready to examine in a businesslike manner all proposals which are advanced by governments and statesmen of various countries.

We believe that it would be a good thing to revert to some proposals which various countries have made in recent years. For many of them are highly realistic and their implementation would promote the cause of peace. Let us take, for instance, the Polish proposal for a nuclear-free zone in the centre of Europe; the proposals for the withdrawal of foreign troops from alien territories to within their national boundaries; the conclusion of a non-aggression pact between the NATO countries and the Warsaw Treaty Organization; on averting surprise attack and the establishment in Europe of a zone of reciprocal inspection and aerial survey on both sides of the line dividing the armed forces of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty.

Would the acceptance of such proposals hurt anyone? No, it would facilitate a relaxation of international tension, liquidation of the "cold war" and better mutual understanding. However, even if these measures are implemented, general and complete disarmament remains the most cardinal problem whose solution would radically improve the entire international climate, would make people confident that there will be no third world war. The Soviet Union will do its utmost to have this problem solved for the good of mankind.

Monday, July 10, 1961

- 4 -

1

Our country wants to have good relations with all states. One must have a sober approach to the solution of international disputes. We want to eliminate the vestiges of World War Two, to put an end to the "cold war" and thus to help reach agreement on disarmament. It is time to draw a line beneath the past, it must not stand in the way of the future.

Permit me, comrades, to dwell in greater detail on such an important question as the conclusion of the German peace treaty, to let you know what our policy is and what situation is now taking shape.

The Soviet government together with the governments of the other socialist countries proposed to our allies in the war with fascist Germany to conclude a German peace treaty and on this basis to normalize the situation in West Berlin. We also urged the head of the West German government, Chancellor Adenauer, to show understanding and good will for a solution of this vital task of our time. The socialist countries have said openly that they want to conclude a peace treaty this year since over 16 years have elapsed since the end of the war, a more than adequate period to prepare a solution of this problem.

What are the Western reactions to this? The governments have not yet replied officially.

But many reports on this score have appeared in Western press organs, which are close either to government circles, or to military staffs or to ruling parties. Unfortunately, voices are being heard expressing much nonsense and little common sense. We are threatened, are told that they will stand "firm" resort to force in order to break through to West Berlin when the German peace treaty is signed.

Of late threatening notes have also been heard in statements by leaders of Western governments. General de Gaulle, President of France, recently declared that one French division would be shipped from Algeria to Europe in autumn in order to reinforce NATO. Mr. Macmillan, Premier of the United Kingdom, also has not yet found better, more constructive words than statements on "firmness" for the sake of preserving the vestiges of war and occupation in Germany.

The Soviet government stands on positions of peace and peaceful coexistence, on positions of respect of sovereignty and noninterference in the domestic affairs of other states. We have stood and we will stand firmly on this. Our firmness, thus, has a definite, peaceful trend.

Monday, July 10, 1961

- 5 -

1

When others in one breath mention firmness and the necessity of mobilization, the shipment of more troops to Europe and the like--this is quite a different course.

This is obstinate unwillingness to heed the demand of the time and the voice of reason, an attempt in the old fashion to resort to arms, believing that this is the weightiest argument in solving urgent international problems.

Replying to our, it would seem, most natural proposals for the conclusion of a peace treaty, the West begins to count divisions. And Chancellor Adenauer is shouting himself hoarse for nuclear weapons. What does Adenauer need nuclear weapons for? Twice German militarism has engineered world wars. Now, when the wounds of World War Two are still felt, he calls for nuclear weapons. The Bundeswehr needs them not for peace, but for unleashing a third world war.

Many of you, comrades, fought in World War Two and saw for yourselves how much suffering it brought, you experienced for yourselves the meaning of war. You all understand what a war would mean now, god forbid that it breaks out. Here it is not the number of divisions that will be decisive. In a nuclear war the tone will be set by rockets, atom and hydrogen bombs. And it is not so important how many divisions will be shipped from Algeria: one or ten, it makes no difference.

Herr Adenauer did not fight and, evidently, wants to make up for it in his old age. He has also indicated against whom to fight. As recently as last Sunday the Bonn Chancellor again qualified the Soviet Union as "potential enemy" and demanded that the Bundeswehr should become equal in armaments with this enemy. At the same time he cursed those who are advocating neutrality in Western Germany.

Did the Chancellor think what he was saying? He loves to pass himself off as a victim of Hitler, yet he follows in Hitler's footsteps. Adenauer, evidently, has no idea what contemporary war means, otherwise he would not play about wrecklessly with the destinies of human beings.

One must call not for war, but for peace, one must not worsen the atmosphere, must not carry matters to a conflict. Let us sit down at a table and calmly discuss the questions without resorting to threats. We propose the convocation of a peace conference and we shall go there with our draft treaty. Let the western powers make their proposal and submit their draft for a peace settlement. We shall discuss all proposals and accept those which will in the best way facilitate the strengthening of peace and which pay due regard to the interests and sovereignty of all states.

West Berlin is an island inside the German Democratic Republic, an island, where the capitalist order has been preserved. We do not want to interfere in the domestic affairs of the city's population or affect the prestige of the United States, the United Kingdom and France. Is it possible to find such a solution as would satisfy all countries that fought against Germany and would not disturb the established way of life in West Berlin? Yes, it is possible, and we propose such a solution--to grant West Berlin the status of a free city, to give it a guarantee either by the four Great Powers, the United States, the United Kingdom, France and the Soviet Union, or by neutral countries, or by the United Nations organization. If the western powers have a better version of guarantees, let them propose it.

However, it is but natural that any West Berlin solution must take into consideration that the city lies in the centre of a sovereign state and that all communications of West Berlin with the outside world pass across the territory of that state. It is accepted in international relations that access to one country or another across the territory of another state has always required appropriate agreement with the authorities of that state.

For instance, the Soviet and British governments set up a regular air service between Moscow and London. The route of the flights passes through Copenhagen. But no one would have permitted us to fly via Copenhagen had we not reached an understanding with the Danish government. This is so normal and legitimate, that there is nothing puzzling about it. So why should there be another procedure for flights over the territory of the German Democratic Republic or in using her roads and railways?

Proposing to conclude a German peace treaty and on this basis to solve the problem of West Berlin, we threaten no one. We do not demand either changes in the postwar social and political conditions in one state or another, or the establishment of new frontiers. The Soviet Union does not search for any gains in the peace settlement, does not seek to humiliate anyone or infringe upon anyone's interests.

The socialist countries do not encroach upon the rights of the West Berliners freely to determine the social and economic order under which they want to live. No one is going to create obstacles to the access to West Berlin. The city will be able to establish and maintain contacts with any state to the extent it will be advantageous to it.

The Soviet Government agrees with President Kennedy's recent statement that any West Berlin solution must not infringe upon the rights of the population of this city to make an independent choice as free people. Our proposal fully accords with this demand.

The Soviet Government is ready for the most far-reaching guarantees as regards West Berlin. I have more than once mentioned various forms of guarantees, but the NATO countries, which fan up a psychosis over West Berlin, studiously hush up this part of our proposals.

The capitalist "free" press, sensing the weakness of the Western positions, is shouting that the Soviet Union wants to seize West Berlin, make some gains at the expense of others. By such fabrications it seeks to conceal from public opinion the genuine nature of the Soviet proposals.

We do not encroach upon West Berlin or the freedom of its population. We are for the freedom of West Berlin on the basis of freedom, rather than on the basis of occupation. We want nothing but the liquidation of the vestiges of World War II in order to improve the entire climate in Europe. That is precisely why the Soviet Union insists on the conclusion of a German peace treaty.

The Soviet Union regrets that the leaders of the Western powers do not show a desire to cooperate with us in the conclusion of a German peace treaty. Either they do not understand the importance of a peace settlement with Germany for the destinies of peace, or, what is more likely, they cannot rise above the narrow interests of their military blocs.

This is clear and understandable to all who search for reasonable solutions. But there are people who depict our proposals as a "threat" and then say that they will reply with force to this "threat." Is this a sober policy? It is not without reason that it is justly criticised in the Western countries themselves. Many people there correctly assess the situation, urge the leaders of the United States, Britain and France to abandon prejudice and to examine how remote Western policy is from the real conditions in which states live.

One can refer to such prominent authorities in the Western world as the United States General Macarthur who in a recent speech at Manila called for outlawing world war. Or to the British Fieldmarshal Montgomery who suggests the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Europe, the liquidation of foreign military bases, the withdrawal of foreign troops from Berlin, etc. This is the voice of men who have

Monday, July 10, 1961

- 8 -

100-1

fought in war; they know the meaning of war and have a correct idea of the calamity a new world war would bring to mankind should it break out.

We urge the discarding of the method of intimidation. War must not be tolerated--it will take far too many human lives. The first shots might be fired on the border where troops are facing each other. But who can guarantee that these shots will not be echoed by nuclear explosions throughout the world, that a war will not begin which mixes up front and rear? Everyone must be aware of this. Those who threaten us ought to know that we are able to rebuff aggressors. We have means for this. (Prolonged applause.)

The Soviet Union made tremendous progress in the development of its economy, culture and technology. Our people created and built up their armed forces that bore the brunt of the struggle against fascism and crushed German militarism. This gives us the right--I think I shall be understood correctly--to appeal to the leaders of the countries that were our allies in the last war, to the President of the United States, Mr. Kennedy, the President of the French Republic, General de Gaulle, the Prime Minister of Great Britain, Mr. Macmillan, urging them to display wisdom in the solution of the German problem, to attend a conference together with other peace-loving states and to conclude a peace treaty. (Applause.)

Common sense and once again common sense--is needed, above all, now. And it must find an expression in peaceful deeds, in the desire to eradicate tension. No other step in our time can be more peaceable than the conclusion of a peace treaty and the liquidation of the vestiges of the last war.

We propose peace, we want that reason should prevail in the relations between states, that there should be peaceful coexistence and competition as to what system secures greater material and spiritual blessings to the peoples. The peoples must determine themselves what system accords with their vital interests: the communist system or the capitalist?

Proposing the conclusion of a peace treaty, the Soviet Government does not want that some should gain and others lose. Let us record what exists. No one's sovereignty will be affected by the conclusion of a German peace treaty. The militaristic revenge-seeking quarters in Western Germany, of course, will dislike the peace treaty. It will tie their hands, make it more difficult to collect forces for fresh gambles. But the meaning of a peace treaty actually is to cut short the dangerous play of the West German revanchists who seek to take advantage of instability in Europe and to set at loggerheads the Great Powers.



I repeat, there are no serious reasons which could really prevent a peace settlement with Germany, but nevertheless the opponents of international relaxation and the conclusion of a peace treaty seek to justify such position by all kinds of insolvent arguments.

They declare, for instance, that the division of Germany prevents a peace settlement. If the Western powers really wanted to help the Germans to unite, far from obstructing, they would advise the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany to enter into negotiations with the Government of the German Democratic Republic. They would support the proposal of the Government of the German Democratic Republic for setting up a confederation of the two German states.

If the absence of an all-German government really prevented the conclusion of a peace treaty, the Western powers and the Federal Republic of Germany would accept the proposal the Soviet Union is now making, to wit, that the Germans should meet before the signing of a German peace treaty to hammer out common views both on the question of a peace settlement and on the reunification of the country.

It is the business of the Germans themselves to restore Germany's national unity. No states have the right to interfere in this affair, because no one can solve this question but the Germans themselves. We do not intend to conduct any talks on this question. Let the governments of the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic reach agreement on this question and we shall recognize any decision they come to.

But if anyone calculates to liquidate with our hands the socialist system in the German Democratic Republic, he is living in a world of illusions. The German Democratic Republic has a loyal and reliable friend in the Soviet Union. (Applause.)

There are many unsettled matters in Germany. This, apparently, is now acknowledged by everyone and hence the logical conclusion--we must resolve these matters and not wait till they cause a conflict. Questions of an international nature must be resolved at a corresponding forum. Inter-German problems can be settled only by the Germans themselves.

The Soviet Government will regret very much if anyone of our former allies does not sign together with us the German peace treaty and if West Germany refuses to accept the hand of reconciliation extended to her by the socialist states. But we cannot put up with the solution of this question, vitally important for so many states and peoples, being dragged out for many more years only because certain quarters wish to save for themselves opportunities for revenge and to perpetuate an occupation regime in a part of the German territory.

Monday, July 10, 1961

-10-

1

The Soviet Union will be confronted with the necessity of reaching agreement with the German Democratic Republic and the countries that wish to conclude a peace treaty with this peace-loving German state.

The procedure of the conclusion of a peace treaty with the German Democratic Republic will conform strictly to the obtaining international practice and customs. After the conclusion of the treaty the Soviet Union will lay down all obligations it had hitherto discharged on the communication lanes with West Berlin. In short, the Government of the German Democratic Republic will enjoy full sovereignty over all its territory just as any other independent state. (Applause.)

You, Comrades, are military people and you know very well what it is to disregard the provisions of a peace treaty and to try to violate the sovereignty of the German Democratic Republic. Many of you will serve in the forces which, under the Warsaw Treaty, are stationed in the territory of the German Democratic Republic and this means that you will have to rebuild the aggressive forces if they decide to frustrate peaceful settlement by force of arms. I call your attention to the fact that it is precisely a peace treaty to which some people threaten to reply with force and to cause a dangerous international crisis.

The Soviet Government is displaying persistence in the conclusion of a German peace treaty, convinced that if measures are not taken now to normalize the situation in Germany and West Berlin, the people may be confronted with the fact of an aggression launched by the West German militarists. There is no guarantee that some venture of the West German successors of Hitler will not kindle the fire of a big war. Then it will be too late to investigate what prevent the timely conclusion of a peace treaty and why, despite all the warnings of the peace-loving forces, militarism in West Germany was allowed to rise to its feet and take up arms again.

Remember how Hitler pushed the world to the brink of war and then unleashed it. He advanced gradually, step by step, methodically to this goal, extorted concessions from the Western powers. He was encouraged by the ruling quarters of Britain, France and America. They believe that with the help of fascism they would be able to defeat the Soviet Union to destroy communism.

There is a no little number of documents and books describing how Hitler Germany prepared World War II. Recently I read, for instance, the book by the French journalist Genevieve Tabouis "Twenty Years of Diplomatic Struggle." This book shows very well the backstage side of the collusion of German militarists with the reactionary forces of the other countries of monopoly capital. Apparently, the frantic monopolists and West German revanchists would not mind embarking again on this road with a view to settling disputed questions through war.

Monday, July 10, 1961

-11-

1

The monopolists regard the question of communism, its development, as the principal issue. Their reason is obscured by hatred for communism, for the countries of socialism. Their centres of restraint may fail them and the imperialists may unleash a new war. Adenauer is repeating what Hitler had done in his time when preparing for war. And actually the same countries that encouraged Hitler are now encouraging him. But they forget that the situation has changed radically since then. In those days the Soviet Union and People's Mongolia were in a capitalist encirclement. Now the mighty socialist camp is growing and gaining in strength, a camp which unites over one thousand million people. The colonial system is collapsing and ever new independent states are emerging and embarking upon the road of a peaceful policy. Today it is not the forces of imperialism, but the forces of peace and socialism that determine the main laws, the main direction of international and social development. (Prolonged applause.)

The Soviet Union is displaying maximum good will to achieve understanding with our former allies and the Federal Republic of Germany. But the language of threats and intimidation to which the West often resorts does not promote a businesslike atmosphere for negotiations. Moreover, under such circumstances, the conclusion of a peace treaty with the German Democratic Republic, with all the attendant consequences, may prove to be the only way out of the obtaining situation.

We shall sign the peace treaty and order our armed forces to administer a worthy rebuff to any aggressor if he dares raise a hand on the Soviet Union or our friends. (Stormy applause.)

The Soviet Government sincerely strives to achieve a lasting peace. But we must not forget that the safeguarding of peace depends not only on our desire, not only on our efforts. A lasting peace can be ensured only if efforts to achieve this goal are exerted also by the governments of other states, if the peoples of all the world fight for this.

We say that a new world war is not inevitable. However, it must not be considered that the possibility of war has already been ruled out completely, inasmuch as the imperialist powers still exist. This is why we must be ready for any contingencies and well prepared. The Soviet people and our youths, above all, must be vigilant and ready to defend the country, to rebuff the aggressor if he dares attack our Homeland. (Prolonged applause.)

We must perfect our weapons, improve our skill in handling arms, so that they would fire without fail and with pinpoint precision. This must be remembered primarily by you the commanders and leaders of our forces. The Soviet Army must be ready at any moment to defend reliably the peaceful construction of communism in the Soviet Union and to fulfil its internationalist duty of rendering aid to the other socialist nations. (Applause.)

Monday, July 10, 1961

-12-

1

The Soviet Armed Forces today have everything necessary to solve successfully the responsible tasks set before them. They possess the necessary quantities of thermonuclear weapons, the most efficient means of delivering them -- close combat, intermediate and intercontinental missiles.

It is best for those who think of war not to imagine that distances will save them. No, if the imperialists unleash a war, it will end with imperialism's complete debacle and ruin. Mankind will end once and for all the system which gives rise to aggressive wars. (Prolonged applause.)

Comrades, the Government of the Soviet Union follows attentively the military measures taken of late by the United States of America and its NATO allies. We cannot disregard such facts as the building up of armed forces in the Western countries, the steps to increase considerably the number of strategic A-bombers, which are constantly kept in the air. The forces of West Germany are being equipped with the latest weapons and increased numerically.

The United States President Mr. Kennedy proclaimed in his recent messages to Congress the so-called "new course." It provides for stepping up the program of developing rocket-missile strategic weapons, the raising of the military readiness of all services. For this purpose President Kennedy has proposed to increase military allocations as compared with the draft budget submitted by the previous president by more than three and a half thousand million dollars. This means that the military spendings in the fiscal year of 1961-1962 will exceed 53 thousand million dollars. The military spendings in the Federal Republic of Germany increased 18 per cent this year. A considerable growth of military spendings is characteristic of Britain, France and other NATO countries.

This is how the western powers are replying to the Soviet Union's unilateral reduction of its Armed Forces and military spendings conducted for several past years.

Would it be correct for us in these conditions to continue reducing our Armed Forces unilaterally?

Taking into account the obtaining situation, the Soviet Government was compelled to instruct the Defence Ministry to suspend temporarily, pending special orders, the reduction of the Armed Forces planned for 1961. (Prolonged applause.)

In view of the growing military budgets in the NATO countries, the Soviet Government has passed a decision to increase defence spendings in the current year by 3,144 million roubles, thereby raising the total military spendings in 1961 to 12,399 million roubles. (Prolonged applause.)  
These are forced measures, comrades. We are taking them due to the emerging circumstances, because we cannot neglect the interests of the Soviet people's security.

Comrades, we are firmly convinced that the solution of many pressing problems, pertaining to the improvement of the international situation, depends greatly on the improvement of relations between the Soviet Union and the United States. Of course, we realize that the improvement of Soviet-American relations is not a simple task. It cannot be achieved without the desire and practical steps of both sides.

Monday, July 10, 1961

-13-

1

Interesting in this light is the statement made by the President of the United States, Mr. Kennedy, at the June 28 press conference, where he dwelt on peaceful economic competition between our two countries. We appreciate such an approach. This, of course, is much better than competing in the development of ever more **destructive** types of weapons. We have always said this and we go on repeating it.

The Soviet Union still lags behind the United States as regards the level of its economic development and we frankly admit it. But our country has inexhaustible potentialities to overcome this lag quickly and to become richer than the United States.

The Soviet people are convinced that the time is not far off when the Soviet Union will overtake and outstrip the United States economically. This is not wishful thinking, but feasible plans based on concrete calculations.

Our desire to be richer than the United States, to overtake it in economic development does not mean, of course, a threat to the United States. Some people call this our challenge to the United States. But this is a challenge to peaceful competition. What's bad in it? Irrespective of who wins this competition, the peoples of both countries will benefit from it, because they will enjoy the boons of peaceful labour.

President Kennedy acknowledged in his statement at the press conference that the socialist system permits the Soviet Union to overcome the United States. He believes, however, that this will happen in a more distant future than indicated by us. He questions the feasibility of our plans, but facts, life itself eloquently show that he is not right.

I shall not polemicize with Mr. Kennedy. Simple calculations will suffice. The volume of the Soviet Union's industrial production accounted for 60 per cent of the American output in 1960. The average annual rates of industrial growth in our country equalled 10.6 per cent during the past 16 years. If the Soviet industrial output continues growing annually by 10 per cent, in 1966 the Soviet Union will produce 106 per cent of the present-day American output and in 1970, 156 per cent. (Applause.)

To grow 56 per cent in 10 years, United States industrial output must increase 4.5 per cent annually. But even if the Americans succeed in ensuring an annual increment of 4.5 per cent, as Mr. Kennedy would like it to be, we shall overtake them just the same in 1970. (Applause.)

If the Americans retain the rate of their industrial output at 2 per cent, which they averaged in the postwar years, the Soviet Union will outstrip America already in 1967. If American industrial output increases by three per cent annually, we shall leave them behind in 1968.

Monday, July 10, 1961

-14-

1

Approximately the same figures could be adduced with regard to the prospects for agricultural development in our two countries.

Forecasts on economic development arouse most of the arguments, of course. I am sceptical, for instance, about Mr. Kennedy's statements which he made during the election campaign, criticizing Eisenhower for the low rates of American economic development. He promised an economic upswing and lower unemployment with the advent of the new administration in the United States.

Back in those days, speaking to Mrs. Roosevelt, I said that if the Democratic Party came to power and Mr. Kennedy became President, he would hardly be able, in my opinion, to achieve more in the economic sphere than Eisenhower's government. As a matter of fact, this is exactly what happened. Look, for instance, at the unemployment. Last October the United States had three and a half million jobless. This June, eight months later, the number of unemployed did not decline, but increased to five and a half million.

Under the capitalist system the economic development depends very little on the President. Every capitalist disposes of his capitals himself, throws the workers out into the street if this benefits him.

Such are the laws of capitalism, draconic laws that still operate, however. The socialist system, of course, does not and cannot have all this.

We can argue about the prospects of economic development in this or other state. We can make various guesses, but these arguments are not a reason for war among states.

So, let's allow history, Mr. Kennedy, to determine who is making correct forecasts and who is erring. (Applause.)

An important role in the development of good relations among nations is played by economic, cultural and other contacts, and the Soviet Union is striving to develop them. We have favourable trade relations with Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, and West Germany. This trade benefits both sides.

Our trade relations with other countries are developing, too. But this cannot be said about trade with the United States. Actually we do not have any trade with the United States and this is not to the advantage of the two countries. I should like to be understood correctly. We come out for the development of trade with the United States of America not because we cannot do without it. The Soviet Union will not only keep going, but will continue its rapid advance, fulfilling and overfulfilling the drafted economic plans.

Monday, July 10, 1961

- 15 -

1

But is it possible to speak earnestly about the improvement of relations and the creation of an atmosphere of confidence between the two mightiest powers in the world if one of them pursues a policy of economic discrimination with regard to another? Of course not. If the United States had displayed common sense and given up the policy of artificially restricting trade relations with the Soviet Union, this would have promoted the improvement of friendly relations, the improvement of the international climate.

The Soviet policy is a policy of peaceful coexistence, a policy of economic competition. This is why we tell President Kennedy, General de Gaulle and Mr. Macmillan: Let's compete in this sphere. This would be sensible. If we were to conclude a peace treaty with Germany, shake hands and declare that we shall devote our efforts to economic competition, all the people of the world would heave a sigh of relief. This would be a good prologue for further talks and the implementation of mankind's age-old dream for a lasting peace on earth. We are ready for this and we offer our hand to the Western governments. (Stormy applause.)

Comrades, the Soviet Army has scored many glorious victories over the enemies of our Homeland. Today it is the most up-to-date, mightiest army of the world. The technical basis of our Soviet Army, Navy and Airforce has been radically changed during the past few years, thanks to the concern displayed by the Party and the people. Our Armed Forces will go on developing and improving continuously, will go on being equipped with the mightiest weapons, until a general disarmament plan is adopted.

However, no matter how up-to-date and strong military techniques are, they can meet their end only if placed in reliable and skilful hands of servicemen who are ideologically steeled, courageous, and boundlessly loyal to their Homeland. (Applause.)

Responsibility for the fulfilment of the tasks confronting the Soviet Armed Forces rests, above all, on the officer cadres. To be up to the mark, the officers must persistently master the Marxist-Leninist theory.

A Soviet officer must always and everywhere be a model of political maturity, high morality, and must discharge his military duty impeccably. At the same time high and constant exactingness is needed in the Armed Forces more than anywhere else, along with the iron will of the commanders, unbending abidance by the principle of undivided command. To command means to be an organizer of the masses, to guide the people skilfully <sup>towards</sup> the set goals.

Monday, July 10, 1961

- 16 -

1

Officers must sensibly use their great rights to raise battle preparedness, to strengthen discipline and order in units and ships.

Military discipline is called the mother of victory. And it must be said that the experience of war fully confirms this truth. New equipment and new types of weapons far from reducing, immeasurably raise the importance of military discipline.

In our time an officer must have high military-technical training, must possess a wide range of theoretical views. He can successfully discharge his duty, if he keeps abreast with the development of military theory and practice. Suffice it to give oneself airs for a short time, to be among those lagging behind. Critical attitude towards the results of one's work, irreconcilability towards shortcomings, honesty and truthfulness to the Party and the people must be inherent qualities of all our officers. (Applause)

The Soviet Army has always been strong thanks to the consciousness of its personnel, allegiance to the sacred ideals of our Party. A high level of ideological belief of the soldiers, their readiness honestly to fight for the Soviet Homeland, for our people, for the lofty ideals of socialism, constitute the great advantage of our army over the armies of the capitalist states.

It is imperative to continue persistently rearing the soldiers on the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, in a spirit of Soviet patriotism, friendship between peoples and proletarian internationalism.

The strength of our army, created under the guidance of the great Lenin, lies in its unbreakable bonds with the people. It owes all its successes and victories to the Communist Party. Guidance by the Party, its constant solicitude for the consolidation of the Armed Forces, is the corner-stone of military development, the strengthening of the defence potential of the Soviet Union.

The enhancing role and influence of Party organizations in the Army and the Navy must continue to be the foundation of our entire military policy. It is the task of commanders, political workers and all chiefs in their activity to draw skilfully on Party organizations, steadily to channel the creative energy and activity of Communists and Young Communist League members into raising the battle preparedness of the Soviet Armed Forces.

Difficult and honorable is the work of our officers. They bear the full responsibility for their subordinates, for their education and training. The necessity of constant battle preparedness of troops demands intense work of commanders and political workers and of the entire personnel of our Armed Forces.



Soviet, July 10, 1945

- 17 -

The people have entrusted their Armed Forces with vigilantly standing guard over our great Soviet Motherland, which is confidently advancing toward complete peace. Give yourself worthy of this great trust. (Prolonged applause.)

Dear comrades, may I once again heartily congratulate you on graduating from the military academies and wish you the success in your future work in the name of peace and the security of our socialist Motherland. (Prolonged applause.)

Long live the powerful and prosperous Soviet Motherland! (Prolonged applause.)

Long live the gallant Soviet Armed Forces and their officer cadres! (Prolonged applause.)

Glory to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the organizer and conductor of all our victories! (Bravos, prolonged applause, all rise.)  
March in honor of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Government.

(All Soviet leaders. In rail.)

Thursday, June 22, 1961

1

SPEECH BY N.S. KHRUSHCHOV AT THE MEETING OF REPRESENTATIVES OF  
MOSCOW PUBLIC TO MARK THE 20th ANNIVERSARY OF THE BEGINNING OF  
THE GREAT PATRIOTIC WAR

Dear comrades.

Twenty years have elapsed since the day when fascist Germany perfidiously, without a declaration of war, attacked the Soviet Union, interrupted the peaceful labour of the Soviet people and thrust a difficult, devastating war upon us.

The entire Soviet people rose in defence of their great homeland, in defence of the achievements of socialism. A sacred, people's war against the nazi invasion began. The gigantic forces, the unbending will of the Soviet people, closely rallied behind their own Communist Party, became manifest in all their greatness during this war. (Stormy, prolonged applause)

The Minister of Defence, Marshal of the Soviet Union Comrade Malinovsky Rodion Yakovlevich in his report and other comrades who spoke here found fine words to describe the immortal exploit of the Soviet People, of our gallant armed forces in the Patriotic War. We again and again turn to the events of World War II because the war itself and the period preceding it enable the peoples to derive highly instructive lessons.

Way back, at the time when Hitler, the German fascists were striving to seize power, our Party and the Soviet Government resolutely exposed the predatory nature of fascism, warned the peoples of the danger threatening them. The Soviet Union was the only state which tirelessly called for curbing fascism, for preventing it from unleashing another world war. The voice of Soviet representatives rang out loud in the League of Nations, and at antiwar congresses, persistently urging a rebuff to fascism, unity for the struggle against the approaching disaster of war. The Soviet Government suggested concrete measures for safeguarding the security of peoples. It submitted to the League of Nations a proposal for general and complete disarmament, offered a collective security system which, if accepted, would have tied the hands of the fascist aggressors.

When direct danger of war confronted the world, the Soviet Government addressed France with a proposal to come out jointly against Hitler Germany in defence of Czechoslovakia. We also tried to reach agreement for the bourgeois governments of Poland and Rumania to let our troops cross their territories to help Czechoslovakia.

But the ruling quarters of the bourgeois states, blinded by hatred for our socialist country and afraid of the world revolutionary movement, did not accept any one of the Soviet Government's proposals though their advisability was obvious for all.

The entire pre-history of World War II is a disgraceful chapter in the policy of the so-called western democracies. The ruling quarters of Britain, France, Poland and other states did not balk at betraying the national interests of their peoples. Mankind will never forget the disgraceful Muenich Collusion of 1938 when the rulers of Britain and France threw the Czechoslovak Republic at the feet of the fascist invaders. The peoples had to pay for this traitorous policy with the lives of millions of their sons and daughters and with terrible privations.

Recall the history of the dispatch of the British and French military missions to Moscow in the summer of 1939. The Soviet Government then suggested absolutely concrete plans for joint actions by the armed forces of the three powers in case Germany should provoke a war in Europe. At that time it would not yet have been too late to halt the aggressor. Had the ruling quarters of Britain and France at that time expressed the desire and the will to rebuff the aggressor, Hitler would have thought more than twice before unleashing the war. History might have taken quite a different shape. There might have been no world war. Mankind would not have sustained such tremendous sacrifices and losses.

The Soviet Government then saw through the perfidy of the imperialist quarters which, conniving at the aggressor, wanted to crush the Soviet Union by means of Hitler's war machine. We understood that by their policy of flirting with Hitler the Western powers pursued only one aim--to spearhead German aggression against the Soviet Union. It was clear to us that German fascism acted as the mailed fist of world reaction which was dreaming of crushing our country--the stronghold of the international revolutionary movement.

The Western powers had a far-reaching scheme -- to destroy the Soviet Union and at the same time to weaken Germany in order to have undivided domination over the world and to dictate their own terms to everyone. This scheme was expressed most cynically by Harry Truman, a former Senator, and later President of the United States of America. He said: "If we see that Germany is winning, we ought to help Russia and if Russia is winning, we ought to help Germany and that way let them kill as many as possible..."

Such a policy, the essence of which was so bluntly set forth by Truman, was carried through by the Western powers. These ideas are still alive in the minds of the aggressive imperialist quarters of the West.

Thursday, June 22, 1961

-3-

1

They are not averse to trying this once again if they find a force they could push against the Soviet Union.

But now there is no such force. The might of the Soviet Union and the entire socialist camp has grown so much that if the Western powers mobilised all their forces in an insane attempt to liquidate the achievements of the peoples of the socialist countries, even then they would have suffered a complete fiasco. (Prolonged applause.)

Even the representatives of the imperialist powers themselves now say that a balance of power between the Western states and the socialist countries has now been established in the world. The understanding of this represents progress on their part. But this progress would be even greater if those who understand the situation this way would actually conduct a policy in keeping with the present balance of power, that is a policy of peace and peaceful coexistence.

On the eve of World War II, the so-called Western Democracies conducted a double-faced policy and the Soviet Government understood that they did not want to join efforts with the Soviet Union against the fascist countries -- Germany and Italy, that they sought to prod Nazi Germany against our country. Then the Soviet Government had no other recourse but to enter into negotiations with Hitler, although it realized that it was striking a deal with the devil incarnate.

It was the perfidious policy of the ruling circles of Britain and France that impelled us to conclude a non-aggression pact with Germany in August 1939. We could not act otherwise. We had to prevent the establishment of a united anti-Soviet front of the imperialist powers and to give our people a peaceful breathing space.

Later events showed the near-sightedness of the policy of the Western countries' governments and the soundness of the position of the Soviet Union.

The first blow of Hitler Germany fell upon the Western countries. But they offered such weak resistance that Hitler, after routing them one by one and without exhausting his forces, returned to his main aim--the attack on the Soviet Union. In the war against the Soviet Union the German imperialists pursued not only predatory but also class objectives -- to destroy the first socialist state in the world. They expected to attain their aim in a brief space of time and with little loss of blood. This is precisely how the well-known Barbarossa Plan was drawn up under which the Nazis expected to overrun our country even before the end of autumn of 1941.

Thursday, June 22, 1961

-4-

1

But the calculations of the German militarists were one thing and the reality was quite another thing! Our Armed Forces, the whole Soviet people gave heroic rebuff to the invaders. The war assumed a protracted nature, it became the most bloody of all wars in history. It took the toll of many millions of lives, brought unbelievable sufferings to the peoples. Enormous material values created by the labour of many generations perished in the flames of the war. But the people withstood the trial of this war and routed fascist Germany. Hitler had to shoot himself and other fascist ring-leaders who did not commit suicide were tried.

But many war criminals as for instance Heusinger, Speidel and Woertsch succeeded in escaping punishment. Now far from having any qualms of conscience for their black deeds, they succeeded in getting recognition of their "services" from our former allies and occupy commanding posts in NATO. Apparently, the ruling quarters of the Western powers profited little from the lessons of the past.

Sixteen years have already elapsed since the end of the war, but no peace treaty has been concluded with Germany so far. Every sober-minded man or woman knows that people striving for peace and a war by signing a peace treaty and create all conditions for ending the state war at the earliest possible date. The Western powers do not want to end war by signing a peace treaty which would be the normal thing to do. They strive to preserve the state of war with Germany. What for? For peace? Certainly not. When peaceful settlement is artificially delayed, more than that, when those who propose to conclude a peace treaty are threatened with war, the peoples must treat the situation seriously. They must block the way to those who push matters towards the unleashing of the third world war in which not scores but hundreds of millions of people may die.

Who is interested in the absence of a German peace treaty, what forces are preventing its conclusion?

Certainly not the German people or peoples of Europe who experienced the horrors of two world wars within last few decades. The conclusion of a peace treaty is opposed by those forces in West Germany which think of revenge and are hatching plans for new military gambles. But it is clear to everyone that what matters is not only the Bonn militarists and surviving Hitlerites. The schemes of the revenge-seekers are encouraged and supported by the ruling quarters of the Western powers.

Thursday, June 22, 1961

-5-

1

Having ended the war, the peoples of the countries of the anti-Hitler coalition hoped and believed that Germany, which was the initiator of the two world wars, will never again become a hotbed of militarism and aggression,

And what do we have in fact? West Germany has become now an influential member of the aggressive military NATO bloc. Hitler's generals not only command the Bundeswehr, but also hold key posts in NATO troops; they are in command of those French and British soldiers whose fathers had fought and died in battles against nazi invaders. In France and Britain, with the consent of the governments of these countries, units of West German troops are being instructed and trained for new campaigns. Militarists of the Federal Republic of Germany have already got hold of rocket weapons and are insistently demanding atomic weapons for the Bundeswehr.

Recently we have discussed all these questions in detail with the United States President Mr. Kennedy in Vienna.

We explained to him in detail why the conclusion of a German peace treaty can no longer be delayed indefinitely. This treaty must put a seal on the situation which has arisen after the World War II. Essentially we want nothing else. The position of the Soviet Government on this question is known to all the world. It was stated comprehensively in the memorandum which was handed to the United States President and published later on in the press.

I dwelt in detail on the German question in my recent radio and television speech and, I believe, there is no need to expound our proposals again in all detail.

What is the western reaction to our position?

Thursday, June 22, 1961

1

-6-

The proposals of the Soviet Government attracted great interest and evoked broad response in all countries. All people who are interested in strengthening peace recognize the need for solving the question of a peace treaty with Germany, realize that this question is not only ripe but even overripe. They support our proposals which are aimed at a peaceful settlement of the German problem and offer a good basis for this.

At the same time one must say that the ruling circles of the Western powers still oppose the conclusion of a German peace treaty and would like to turn the German question into a touchstone for a test of strength.

Today I should like to warn those who, like Chancellor Adenauer, in reply to peaceful proposals of the Soviet Union, call for "standing firm" or even threaten to "give rebuff."

More than on one occasion we reminded the leaders of the Federal Republic of Germany about the merits of reason. Is it possible, gentlemen, that you have forgotten the inglorious experience of your predecessors and would like to repeat it? You may try and repeat it, of course. But that would be the beginning of your end (Applause). Now times are not what they were twenty years ago. Now, not only German revenge-seekers but all those who would try to support them in a new adventure against us would share the fate of Hitler. (Applause).

These words should not be taken as a threat. It is an appeal to reason. It is high time to understand at last that the Soviet Union is different now, that the world is different and that different is the balance of forces and armaments.

Therefore, Mr. Chancellor, do not try to frighten us with your "firmness". You say, that if we conclude a peace treaty with the GDR, you will stop at nothing. This indicates only the weakness of your positions.

Everybody knows that we do not want war. But if you really threaten us with war, we are not afraid of such a threat. If you do touch off a war, that will be your suicide. (Prolonged applause).

It goes without saying that some unreasonable person may commit suicide. His relations will weep over him but humanity will not suffer from that. But when statesmen invested with high authority are playing with fire, are threatening to plunge their country into the maelstrom of war, they stake not only their own lives but also the destiny of the peoples. By dragging West Germany into an adventure, you are pushing the people of your country to suicide.

Thursday, June 22, 1961

1

-7-

Soviet people do not want war and just for this reason we strive to remove what can cause its outbreak. For the sake of this, at the end of this year, we, together with other peace-loving states, will sign a peace treaty with the German Democratic Republic. (Stormy applause).

It is not war, not alliance of some countries against others for the purpose of building up forces for war, that the Soviet Union is offering. We want one thing only - lasting peace. It is to strengthen peace that it is essential to conclude a peace treaty, and thus eliminate the remnants of World War II. This we openly proclaim and want one and all to understand us correctly. The Soviet Union wants to sign a peace treaty with Germany together with our former allies.

Contrary to the noisy ravings of those who would like to keep up international tension, we do not threaten West Berlin at all when we urge the conclusion of a peace treaty. We should like sincerely to come to terms on this question too with those countries with which we had fought together against Hitler Germany and have common commitments with regard to Germany.

We propose a free city status for West Berlin. We have no intention of changing the social and political system in West Berlin. This is the internal matter of its population. Neither the Soviet Union, nor the German Democratic Republic intend to restrict the links between West Berlin and all the countries of the world. In conformity with international law, however, there must be respect for the sovereign rights of the German Democratic Republic, across whose territory run the communications connecting West Berlin with the outer world.

On the question of West Berlin the governments of the United States, Britain and France adhere to the positions of yesterday. Even western political leaders have to admit this. Mansfield, Democratic majority leader in the United States Senate, declared in his speech of June 14, 1961 that he could not agree with the position of the Kennedy Administration which fails to recognize the enormous changes that have occurred since the war in both parts of Germany and in Europe and which is fraught with the danger of a nuclear war. He stressed that courage is not to stand stubbornly on untenable positions but to seek agreement with other parties concerned on a business-like basis. This is a correct approach and we can only welcome it.



Wednesday, June 22, 1961

1

-8-

Senator Mansfield does not deny that with appropriate international guarantees the free city idea is the most suitable in the present conditions. He has suggested that the FRG and the GDR sign such a decision and make their contribution to its realization.

It is true, that Mansfield then loses the sense of reality: he demands that the free city status should be applied not only to West Berlin but also to democratic Berlin which is known to be an integral part of the sovereign German Democratic Republic, its capital. Why further complicate the task of normalizing the situation in West Berlin, difficult as it is?

The Soviet Union proposes that in search for a solution the de facto and de jure situation now obtaining be taken as point of departure. No one demands to break the existing way of life of the West Berlin population, no one is going to intervene in its affairs. But the Soviet Union is not to be expected to agree to infringement of the territorial integrity of the German Democratic Republic, or of her sovereignty.

We propose that such a peace treaty be concluded with Germany as would not infringe the rights and interests of any of the sides, would not give some states an advantage over others. The Soviet Union only proposes to record what has long since taken shape and exists in reality. We propose de jure consolidation of the existing frontiers of Germany.

It is possible that the present frontiers do not please the West German revanchists but they have only themselves to blame. It was not we who began the war for the revision of frontiers. The present frontiers of Germany took shape as a result of the defeat of Nazi Germany, as a result of the defeat of those who had unleashed a predatory war. (Applause). The new frontiers restored historic justice which had been violated by the ancestors of the present-day German militarists. (Applause).

We are told that the peace treaty we are going to conclude with the German Democratic Republic will be a separate treaty. In my radio and television speech I have already said that the United States of America, while signing a peace treaty with Japan, did not take us into consideration though we had been its allies in the war against Japan. Thus it showed that it regarded itself entitled to sign a treaty without us, though our rights, as one of the victorious countries, were irrefutable.

Thursday, June 22, 1961

1

-9-

Now we, in our turn, want to exercise on the German question the same rights which the United States and its friends exercised on the Japanese question. We follow suit, no more. (Applause).

As regards those who try to threaten us with war if we sign a peace treaty with the German Democratic Republic, they will bear the entire responsibility for their actions.

I should like to repeat that all sober-minded people, no matter how embittered they are against communism, against the Soviet Union, must understand that we live now in 1961 and not in 1941. We have all necessary means of defence. And we shall use these means not for attack but only in order to defend our homeland, the peaceful life of the Soviet people, the peoples of all socialist countries, who together with us stand on positions of peace and uphold it against the machinations of the West German revanchists and their patrons. (Prolonged applause).

Comrades, the indomitable might of socialism was fully manifested in the Great Patriotic War. The Soviet Union bore the brunt of the struggle against Hitler Germany which by the time when it attacked our country had conquered most of European countries.

We have always said that we achieved victory over fascism jointly with our allies in the anti-Hitler coalition. The Soviet people duly appreciate the assistance rendered them in the course of the war by the United States of America, Britain, France and other countries. I believe, however, that our former allies themselves understand that the decisive contribution to victory was made by the Soviet people and we in no way belittle their merits and efforts when we recall the selfless heroism of the Soviet people.

All decisive battles of World War II were fought on the eastern front: while the United States of America lost in World War II approximately 300,000 men and Britain approximately 250,000, on our front such losses were sustained in individual battles. There hardly is a single family in our country which did not suffer from the war. Our people lost the lives of many millions of their finest sons and daughters.

Yes, it was a very hard struggle but the Soviet Union stood the test. Not only did it stand the test but emerged from the ordeal of World War II even stronger than it was.

Within a brief space of time the Soviet people repaired all the war damage. Now even our sworn enemies admit that the Soviet Union is one of the strongest powers militarily. Besides, the Soviet Union is not alone now. We live and work within a great community of socialist countries whose population exceeds one billion.

Thursday, June 22, 1961

1

-10-

Unleashing World War II the imperialists hoped to bury socialism. But actually it was fascism of Hitler and Mussolini that was buried under the war ruins, while socialism has become even more firmly rooted in the world. (Prolonged applause). We, Communists, believe in the triumph of the great ideas of Marxism and Leninism in the name of which the Soviet people fought during the years of World War II sparing no efforts and life itself. And it is because we believe in our ideas that we now as before stand for peace and international friendship, and fight for general disarmament. (Applause).

As far back as 1922, on Vladimir Ilyich Lenin's instructions, the Soviet delegation came out with a disarmament proposal at the Genoa conference. In 1927 the Soviet Union submitted its disarmament proposals to the League of Nations. After World War II the Soviet Union has been pressing for the solution of the disarmament problem with even greater persistence. In 1959 on behalf of the Soviet Government, I submitted to the United Nations a full-scale plan for universal and complete disarmament under strict international control. We firmly stand by this position because we sincerely want disarmament which is essential for ensuring peace to all people.

In our plea for disarmament, for peace and security of peoples, for peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, we proceed from the idea that the government and social system of any country is the internal matter of each people and that no one may impose some particular social order upon it.

The monopoly capital bosses who determine the policy of the Western powers, naturally have a conception of state and socio-political system which is diametrically opposite to ours. They want to perpetuate the capitalist system at all costs, to preserve the system existing in their countries under which the strong plunders the weak, the rich exploits the poor and appropriates the fruit of his labour. The socialist countries are developing on a different foundation. In socialist society all people are really equal because we have no capitalists and no proletarians; each member of the society discharges his definite social function, working for the good of the whole people and therefore for his own good. The higher production rises, the richer becomes our country, the richer becomes our entire society and every member of this society enjoys the benefits of social labour. In the socialist society all are equal and this equality in our country is real and not formal, as is the case in the so-called "free world", where the strong is free to plunder and oppress the weak.

Thursday, June 22, 1961

- 1 -

Such are the opposing conceptions of the two worlds--the capitalist world and the socialist world. There will never be a reconciliation between them and it is our firm conviction that the socialist conception, as the most progressive one, will prevail over the capitalist conception. But we stress again and again the central value is the business of the people of each country and this question must be decided by the people itself without external interference.

The Soviet Government is doing everything in its power to ensure peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, to see to it that they should not only coexist without war, but also closely cooperate in maintaining peace, businesslike trade, cultural, scientific and other contacts.

It is to ensure lasting peace that we wage the struggle for disarmament. Although the eastern powers, the United States in the first place, stubbornly reject disarmament under some pretexts or other, we shall insist on our proposals again and again, will strive persistently to make all people understand the need for solving the disarmament problem, because this is in the interests of the peoples.

The ruling circles of capitalist countries lack the courage to say openly that they are against disarmament. They pretend that they are ready to negotiate, express readiness to sit endlessly on various committees and sub-committees. The endless meetings on disarmament that were held in the sixteen years since the end of World War II have not pushed this matter a single step forward.

Representatives of monopolies of monopoly capital go to disarmament talks with the sole purpose to mislead their peoples, to lure them with hope for agreement, but in reality to sabotage disarmament to continue the feverish arms race. And they would like to do this so cunningly as to lay the blame for the sabotaging of agreement upon the socialist countries. For this purpose "bourgeois diplomats" and propaganda are hard at work spreading the fabrications that we propose disarmament without control and thus prevent agreement on disarmament.

We have exposed this sublimation. We have declared in the United Nations: Gentlemen, if you want agreement not in words but in deeds, accept our proposals for universal disarmament, and then we shall accept any of your proposals on control.

The enemies of disarmament have nothing, to say to that. They have only one path open to them to mislead the peoples and to repeat endlessly the fable that we stand for disarmament without control. But, as the saying goes, like have short legs and one cannot get far on them!

Thursday, June 22, 1961

- 12 -

1

In conditions when the governments of the Western powers stubbornly sabotage disarmament, the solution of this vital problem entirely depends upon the peoples. All peoples must realize the earnestness of the present situation and bring pressure to bear on those governments which obstruct the solution of the disarmament problem--the most important problem of our time.

The working people, intellectuals, all people who want peace, can and must compel the governments of capitalist countries to accept disarmament. If this is not done, the imperialist circles may bring the peoples to a war and then it will be too late to look for culprits. Modern war has its own inexorable law--mass extermination of people, destruction of all material values.

I speak about this in all seriousness to make plain to all the importance of active struggle for disarmament, on the outcome of which the future of mankind will depend in many respects. As to the Soviet Union, the people of all countries may rest assured that it will not be found wanting. We are ready to sign even tomorrow an agreement on universal and complete disarmament with any, most strict international control. (Applause).

But we shall not accept control without disarmament, because such control would in effect be espionage. In this connection I should like to say a few words on the question of a nuclear weapons test-ban. At the Geneva talks, the Western powers have taken a position which does not make it possible to reach agreement to end these tests.

In its recent memorandum the Soviet Government has proposed an interdependent solution of the problem of ending nuclear weapon tests and of universal and complete disarmament. The other day the United States Government has sent us a memorandum rejecting our proposal. We shall reply to the White House memorandum. But already now I am in a position to say that we firmly stand by the views we have stated.

For close to three years already the Soviet Union has been making no nuclear weapon tests, although we have no treaty with the Western powers on this matter. We can continue abstaining from nuclear tests and offer to the Western powers to reach agreement on the disarmament problem as a whole and on its component parts, including the question of nuclear weapons tests.

Some American leaders urge the United States Government to resume nuclear weapon tests if the Soviet Union does not accept the Western powers' demands.

Thursday, June 22, 1961

- 13 -

What can be said about such threats? They will frighten no one but merely expose the unreasonableness of those who resort to them. We must warn these gentlemen: No sooner the United States resumes nuclear explosions, the Soviet Union will start testing its nuclear weapons. Quite a few devices which need practical testing have been developed in the Soviet Union. This testing, of course, will increase the fighting power of our armed forces and enable us to develop even better atomic and nuclear bombs and to improve the technology of their manufacture. If in reply to the resumption of nuclear tests by the Western powers we did not start testing our weapons we would damage the defence potential of our country and of the entire socialist community.

Thus, the entire responsibility for the resumption of nuclear weapon tests will rest with the governments of the Western powers.

The Soviet Union is persistently pursuing a policy of peace, of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, a policy of non-interference of some states into internal affairs of other states. In negotiations with its partners, the Soviet Union is pressing for concluding an agreement of general and complete disarmament under strictest control, an agreement banning nuclear weapons.

Steadily pursuing our peaceloving foreign policy, we have always maintained that questions of the social and political system of states, questions of class struggle and of changing the system within some country is the business of the people of each state.

The Soviet foreign policy has earned recognition and trust of the peoples and we are proud of this. The Soviet Union, the countries of socialism are making tremendous efforts to preserve world peace, are seeking peaceful settlement of disputable and unsolved questions in international relations.

The Soviet Union, possessing tremendous economic and military might, has never used and will not use its strength for aggressive purposes. On the contrary, it directs all its efforts towards ensuring peace.

Comrades, I am proud of the high award bestowed upon me--the Lenin Prize for the Promotion of Peace among the Peoples. (Stormy applause.)

Thursday, June 22, 1961

- 14 -

1

I have already said that I regard this prize not only as the recognition of my personal efforts as the Head of the Government of the Soviet Union but also as recognition of the efforts of all peoples of our country in their persistent struggle for the strengthening of peace. (Stormy applause.)

It is often said in our press that Khrushchov is a peace champion, that he will ensure world peace and so on. This is flattering, of course. But to pin hopes on one country, on one person even if he stands at the head of the government of such a country as the Soviet Union, and to expect that they alone can ensure peace while others will be inactive, means to do a service not to peace, but to the forces of aggression, the forces of war.

Life shows that to win world peace it is not enough to rely on the efforts of some single country. It is not enough to find "heroes" of some sort and rely on them to ensure peace. In order to ensure enduring peace on Earth it is essential for the peoples of our entire planet to make an all-out effort to strengthen peace. The peoples and the peoples alone can force the governments which resist disarmament, which build up stocks of arms in order to unleash war, to desist from such a dangerous and unreasonable policy.

Peace can be ensured only when the peoples of each country will not rely on other countries but will launch within their own country an irreconcilable struggle against the forces which stand for war, will make an all-out effort to ensure peace. (Applause.)

All the peoples want peace, peaceful coexistence. Only a handful of imperialists, representatives of monopoly capital, a handful of aggressive revenge-seekers in West Germany are of different opinion. But the trouble is that representatives of these circles hold commanding heights in the Western countries, occupy key posts in governments and determine the policy of the Western countries.

That is why no people that really wants the terrible conflagration of the most devastating war never to break out on earth can stay aloof from the common struggle for peace. The peoples should realize that only they can and must compel their governments to renounce the dangerous policy aimed at fanning up war passion and the arms race, can and must render harmless those people who conduct a policy of building up aggressive forces, the policy of preparing war.

Thursday, June 22, 1961

-15-

1

The Soviet Government, our people must closely follow the trends in the international situation. It is well-known that the Soviet Union went to great effort to achieve a relaxation of international tension. Our Government has submitted a proposal on universal and complete disarmament which has found enthusiastic response and support in all countries of the world. We have dismantled all our military bases abroad. The Soviet Union has repeatedly cut its armed forces on a unilateral basis.

However, the Western powers with which we are negotiating disarmament have not reciprocated this, have not adopted the path of reducing their armed forces. Far from that, the United States this year is increasing appropriations for armaments by close to two and a half billion dollars over the last year. At present in the United States they are discussing the question of increasing the numerical strength of the armed forces. They are busy there establishing so-called guerrilla detachments which are to be dispatched to other countries to suppress liberation movements, to fight against governments and state systems which do not suit the imperialist Western circles. These detachments are being trained for murder, sabotage, subversion.

Chancellor Adenauer is demanding nuclear weapons for the Bundeswehr. It goes without saying that it is not for play that West German militarists want to have nuclear weapons, but for revanchist adventures they are planning against the Soviet Union, the socialist countries and other states.

Naturally, such measures of the Western powers are not designed to improve the international climate, to reach agreement on disarmament, but to aggravate relations between states, to whip up the cold war. We must take a sober view of the situation, be vigilant, so that the enemies of socialism, the aggressive militaristic circles should not catch us unawares.

We must make every effort to strengthen still more the might of our homeland, to raise still higher our economy, science and technology, to raise the living and cultural standards of the people.

Now, as before, we must be tireless in our concern for the armed forces of our country which stand guard over the gains of the October Revolution, the gains of socialism. Our armed forces must always be ready to ensure dependably the security of the Soviet Union, must have all that is needed to smash immediately any enemy who will dare to encroach on the freedom of our Homeland. (Stormy, prolonged applause.)



Thursday, June 22, 1961

-16-

1

May those who harbour aggressive designs against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries know what their fate will be if they touch off a war and attack. (Stormy applause).

The Soviet Government is doing everything in its power to end the arms race, to relieve the people of the grave burden of war expenditures. Unfortunately, to our appeal to compete in the production of material and spiritual values, the imperialist powers respond by increasing military appropriations, by increasing the numerical strength of their armed forces. This might make it imperative for the Soviet Union to likewise increase appropriations for armaments, to strengthen and improve our defences, and, if need be, to increase also the numerical strength of our armed forces, so as to ensure peace and peaceful coexistence relying on our might. (Stormy applause).

Dear comrades, allow me on behalf of the Central Committee of our Party and the Soviet Government to greet our valiant armed forces which stand guard over the constructive labour of the Soviet people. (Prolonged applause). We warmly greet army and navy men, sergeants and petty officers, officers, generals and admirals and wish them great success in their noble military duty. (Prolonged applause).

The strengthening of the defences of the Soviet Union depends on the perfection of all services of our armed forces--infantry and artillery, engineering and communications troops, armoured units and the navy, the air and rocket forces.

In our time exceptionally great is the responsibility of the rocket forces, especially of units which service ballistic rockets of various ranges, from tactical to intercontinental. Their combat readiness and training must be of the highest level because very much depends on rocket forces.

It is their crushing power that is the prime deterrent that keeps any potential aggressor from attacking us and our allies. Their capability of striking in retaliation is the force which will inexorably punish the aggressor, if nevertheless he dares to commit an act of madness and touches off a new war. (Prolonged applause.)

Today on the twentieth anniversary of the treacherous attack of Hitler Germany on the Soviet Union we think of those who gave up their lives for the freedom and independence of the great Soviet Homeland. Never will be erased from the memory of the people the great exploit of the glorious soldiers of the Soviet Army, of navy men, of valiant partisans, men and women, who died the death of the brave in battles against fascist invaders.

Thursday, June 22, 1961

- 17 -

Forever shall we remember the millions of peaceful Soviet people who perished in this terrible war. There is no family in our country which did not lose a husband or son, a brother or father, a daughter or sister.

Comrades, I ask you to stand in memory of those who fell in battle against the fascist invaders, for the freedom and independence of our Homeland. (All rise.)

Transcendent were the sacrifices made by our people in defending the freedom and independence of our Homeland. These were sacrifices in the name of a great noble cause. And now, twenty years after the outbreak of the Great Patriotic War, sixteen years after it had ended, our country has reached unparalleled heights in the development of her economy, culture, science, technology, and we are only pressing onward to new victories.

We are proud that the Soviet people led by the Communist Party, under the banner of Marxism-Leninism was the first to accomplish a socialist revolution and achieve in a few days in the history of humanity. The great founders of scientific communism blazed the first paths to a better life, and now these paths have turned into the main road of all humanity, along which the peoples of many countries are advancing victoriously. (Prolonged applause.)

The Soviet people, having built socialism, are confidently marching along the road of building communism. The main program of our Party approved the other day by a plenary meeting of the Party's Central Committee, and which will be published for universal discussion, outlines a broad front for the comprehensive upbuilding of socialism, for the realization of the sevenfold growth of all sectors. It has been our great fortune to participate in this lofty cause. (Prolonged applause.)

Long live the Soviet people, the victor peoples! (Stormy, prolonged applause.)

Long live the valiant armed forces of the Soviet Union! (Stormy, prolonged applause.)

Long live the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the organizer and inspirer of all our victories! (Stormy, prolonged applause.)

Long live world peace! (Stormy, prolonged applause, all rise. Cheers in support of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Government, cries of "Hurrah".)

(All papers. In hall.)

Tuesday, July 11, 1961

1

JOINT SOVIET-KOREAN COMMUNIQUE

A party and government delegation of the Korean People's Democratic Republic, headed by the Chairman of the Central Committee of the Korean Party of Labour and Chairman of the Cabinet of Ministers of the K.P.D.R., Comrade Kim Il Sung, stayed in the Soviet Union, on a visit of friendship, between June 29 and July 10, 1961, at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R.

During their stay in the Soviet Union, the party and government delegation of the K.P.D.R. visited Moscow, Kiev and Irkutsk and paid visits to a number of industrial establishments, collective farms, cultural and educational institutions, and the Bratsk Hydropower Project. Everywhere the envoys of the fraternal Korean people were given a warm, cordial welcome by the working people of the Soviet Union which testified to the heartfelt sentiments of friendship and the great sympathy which the Soviet people have for the Korean People's Democratic Republic, the Korean people and its leaders.

During the stay of the party and government delegation of the K.P.D.R. in Moscow talks were held between the party and government leaders of the two countries.

Taking part in the talks on the Soviet side were the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. N.S. Khrushchov, Member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. and Secretary of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. F.R. Kozlov, Member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. and First Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. A.N. Kosygin, and also the Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. and Chairman of the State Planning Committee of the U.S.S.R. V.N. Novikov, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R. A.A. Gromyko, Marshal of the Soviet Union M.V. Zakharov, the First Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R. V.V. Kuznetsov, the Chief of a Department at the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. Y.V. Andropov, the Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the U.S.S.R. to the K.P.D.R. A.M. Puzanov, Member of the Collegium of the Foreign Ministry of the U.S.S.R. I.I. Tugarinov.

Taking part in the talks on the Korean side were the Chairman of the Central Committee of the Korean Party of Labour and Chairman of the Cabinet of Ministers of the K.P.D.R. Kim Il Sung, Member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Korean Party of Labour and Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Korean Party of Labour Kim Chan Man, Member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Korean Party of Labour, Vice-Chairman of the Cabinet of Ministers of the K.P.D.R. and Minister of National Defence Kim Kwan Heb, Alternate Member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Korean Party of Labour, Vice-Chairman of the Cabinet of

Ministers of the K.P.D.R. and Chairman of the Heavy Industry Committee Li Den Ok, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the K.P.D.R. Pak Sen Chen, and the Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the K.P.D.R. to the U.S.S.R. Li Son Un.

In the course of the talks, held in an atmosphere of cordiality and unanimity, the two sides had a comprehensive and frank exchange of opinions on questions of the strengthening and further development of the friendly relations and cooperation between the Soviet Union and the Korean People's Democratic Republic, and also on topical international problems of interest to both sides. The talks confirmed anew the identity of views on all the questions discussed and the inviolability of the alliance between the U.S.S.R. and the Korean People's Democratic Republic which is founded on the immutable principles of socialist internationalism, mutual assistance and equality.

Both sides reaffirmed their unanimous striving toward the further extension of the successfully developing comprehensive contacts and close cooperation between the U.S.S.R. and the K.P.D.R. which fully accord with the vital interests of the peoples of both countries and contribute to the strengthening of peace and security in the Far East.

The sides informed each other of the measures taken by them toward the continuous development of the national economy, toward raising the material standards of the working people, toward the scientific and cultural progress of both countries.

The Korean side noted the tremendous achievements scored by the Soviet people in the all-out building of communism under the tested leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The Seven-Year Plan for the development of the national economy of the U.S.S.R., which is the decisive stage in the realization of the history-making task of building in the U.S.S.R. the material and technical basis of communism, is being successfully fulfilled.

The industry and agriculture of the U.S.S.R. are on a new upswing, and the material and cultural standards of the Soviet people are improving steadily. The great achievements of Soviet science and technology, which found a vivid expression in the flight of a Soviet man into space, have opened up a new era of the conquest of space and demonstrated the inexhaustible vital force of the socialist system. The Soviet people have rallied closely around the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its Central Committee and now display even greater labour enthusiasm and creative activity in advancing toward the 22nd Congress of the Party. The successful building of communism in the U.S.S.R. further strengthens the might of the socialist camp and inspires the peoples of all countries to struggle for peace, national independence and socialism.

Tuesday, July 11, 1961

-3-

1

The Soviet side noted that the working class, the labouring peasantry and the intelligentsia of the K.P.D.R., led by the Korean Party of Labour which is consistently implementing the Leninist principles of the socialist management of economy, have in a short time scored outstanding successes, converting their country into an independent industrial-agrarian socialist state which is growing stronger all the time.

The Korean People's Democratic Republic rapidly and completely rehabilitated the national economy ravaged by imperialist interventionists and then far surpassed the prewar level of industrial and agricultural production. Great successes have been scored in the fields of public education, culture, the arts and public health. Free seven-year schooling and free medical services for the population have been introduced in towns and villages throughout the country.

As a result of the completion of socialist reforms, the socialist relations of production, opening up unlimited prospects for the development of productive forces in the country, have won completely in all branches of the national economy of the K.P.D.R. The working class of the K.P.D.R. has grown considerably, national cadres of specialists have been prepared and a new socialist intelligentsia has been reared.

The high rates of economic and cultural development typical of the K.P.D.R. speak of the undeniable superiority of the socialist system established in North Korea and the correctness of the policy of the Korean Party of Labour. They have become possible thanks to the dedicated labour of the Korean people and the utmost possible international mutual assistance of the socialist countries.

In the course of meetings and conversations, opinions were exchanged on questions of the further extension of economic cooperation between the Soviet Union and the Korean People's Democratic Republic.

The two sides considered the progress in the fulfilment of the long-term agreement on reciprocal commodity deliveries and the agreement on Soviet technical assistance in 1961-1967 for the further development of the national economy of the K.P.D.R., signed at the end of last year. They expressed complete satisfaction with progress in the fulfilment of the concluded agreements. The sides also reached agreement on further steps toward the strengthening of close economic ties between the two states.

As a result of the discussion of questions concerning economic and technical cooperation, an agreement was signed

Tuesday, July 11, 1961

-4-

1

between the Government of the U.S.S.R. and the Government of the K.P.D.R. on Soviet technical assistance for the further development of the national economy of the K.P.D.R. Under this agreement the Soviet Union will render additional economic and technical assistance to the K.P.D.R. in the development of the metallurgical and mining industries. The Soviet side agreed to speed up the deliveries of equipment for the thermal power stations which are being built with Soviet technical assistance, and also to help in the construction of a television centre.

In response to a request of the Government of the K.P.D.R., the Government of the U.S.S.R. extended to the Korean People's Democratic Republic a long-term credit, on favourable terms, to cover the expenditures of Soviet organizations in the provision of the technical assistance envisaged in the aforesaid agreement.

An agreement was also signed on the additional deliveries of certain commodities to the K.P.D.R. from the U.S.S.R. in 1962-1965 for the development of the chemical industry of the K.P.D.R.

While the K.P.D.R. is on a sharp upswing, while her economy and culture are flourishing and democracy is developing in South Korea where an antipopular regime has been established as a result of American occupation there are economic dislocation, poverty of the masses, which have no rights, and a rule of military and police terror. The recent events in South Korea were especially convincing evidence that in its efforts to suppress the indignation of the people of South Korea, its striving for freedom and national welfare, the forces of reaction have taken to the road of open military-fascist dictatorship which leads to an aggravation of tension in Korea and raises additional obstacles to the country's reunification along peaceful democratic lines.

The Soviet people sympathize deeply with the Korean people in the tragedy of the division of their country and the occupation of her southern part by foreign troops. The Soviet Union has unswervingly advocated the earliest possible restoration of Korea's national unity in accordance with the will and the interests of the Korean people.

The Soviet Union and the Korean People's Democratic Republic hold that the peaceful reunification of Korea is above all a matter for the Korean people itself, and that solution of general Korean problems is only possible through negotiations between representatives of North and South Korea.

The Soviet Side attaches great importance to the proposal of the Government of the K.P.D.R. for the establishment of a confederation of North and South Korea. In conditions where the South Korean authorities do not agree to the holding of democratic all-Korean elections without foreign interference, realization of the idea of a confederation provides the shortest and most reliable way to the reunification of the country. Realization of this task is also served by such steps of the Government of the K.P.D.R. as its proposals for trade between the North and the South, the organization of economic and cultural cooperation, and the reduction of armed forces in both parts of the country.

The Soviet side welcomes the continuous efforts of the Government of the K.P.D.R. towards the strengthening of peace in Korea and rapprochement between the North and the South in the interests of the earliest restoration of the national unity of the Korean people. The peaceful policy of the Korean People's Democratic Republic, along with her economic and other successes, strengthens the international authority of the K.P.D.R. and wins her the sympathy of the peaceloving states.

The Soviet Union resolutely supports the Korean people's just demands for the withdrawal of American troops from the territory of South Korea. The occupation of South Korea by American imperialists is today the main obstacle to the peaceful settlement of the Korean question. The refusal of the U.S. to clear the Korean soil of its troops and military bases, its opposition to agreement between the North and the South, and the continuous activities of American military towards the further strengthening of their military bases and the introduction of mass destruction weapons there, in violation of the armistice agreement -- all this shows that the American imperialists and their placemen have not abandoned their intentions of extending the colonial rule to the whole of the Korean Peninsula. They ought to know that such plans are doomed to failure. The fraternal solidarity of the Soviet Union and the K.P.D.R., the joint forces of the socialist camp reliably safeguard the Korean People's Democratic Republic, as indeed any other socialist Country, against encroachment on the part of imperialist aggressors. The Korean People's Democratic Republic is developing and gaining in strength within the fraternal community of socialist nations, embodying the hopes of the Korean people for the realization of its legitimate national aspirations.

For the further development and strengthening of the friendly relations between the two countries, for supporting and consolidating peace and security in the Far East and throughout the world, the Soviet Union and the Korean People's Democratic Republic have concluded a Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance. This treaty conforms not only to the vital interests of the two states, unswervingly following a policy of peace and friendship among nations, but also to the interests of all peaceloving states, the interests of the relaxation of international tension.

The Government of the K.P.D.R. solemnly declared that in signing the aforesaid Treaty it proceeded from the assumption

that upon the country's reunification along peaceful democratic lines, the whole of Korea would be free of commitments assumed by either side under the military and political treaties and agreements concluded prior to her reunification. And the military and political treaties concluded by South Korea with the United States should, naturally, become invalid too.

x x x

In exchanging opinions on questions of the obtaining international situation, both sides noted that the world socialist system is now on a steep upswing. The national economy of the socialist countries is developing rapidly.

The Soviet Union and the K.P.D.R., like all the other socialist states, are fighting consistently to avert the threat of a new war and to ensure the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems.

Comrade N.S.Khrushchov informed the Korean side of his meeting with the President of the United States J.Kennedy. The Korean side expressed complete support for the peaceful policy of the Soviet Union designed to strengthen peace and relax international tensions, and declared that the K.P.D.R. welcomed and approved the Soviet Union's position on the question of the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany and the solution on this basis of the question of West Berlin, and also on the other questions discussed during the Vienna Meeting of N.S.Khrushchov and J.Kennedy.

Both sides stressed the need for further efforts towards the solution of ripe international problems and above all the problems of general and complete disarmament and the termination of the intrigues of the imperialist powers against the sovereignty and independence of the freedomloving states.

Both sides reaffirm that struggle against colonialism in all its forms and every support to the national liberation movement of the oppressed peoples are one of the main principles of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union and the Korean People's Democratic Republic. They denounce the intervention of the imperialist powers in the Congo, covered by the United Nations flag, and the colonialist wars in Algeria, Angola and other countries which still have not freed themselves of colonial slavery.



Tuesday, July 11, 1961

1

- 7 -

Both sides declare their solidarity with the heroic Cuban people upholding the sacred and just cause of freedom and national independence.

A serious threat to peace is posed by the activities of the military and political bloc of SEATO, built up by the efforts of American imperialists and serving as a tool of imperialist aggression in South East Asia. The armed interference of the U.S. and other SEATO countries in the internal affairs of Laos brought about a dangerous aggravation of the situation in the area. Both sides consider that this interference must be stopped completely so that Laos could develop freely as an independent state in accordance with its proclaimed program of peace, neutrality and national unity.

The Soviet Union and the Korean People's Democratic Republic strongly denounce the U.S. ruler's hostile policy toward the great socialist power in Asia--the People's Republic of China. The efforts of the U.S. ruling circles to prejudice the sovereignty and legitimate rights of People's China, the American aggression against the ancient Chinese territory of the island of Taiwan and the off-shore islands are an open challenge to the cause of peace and one of the main sources of dangerous tension in the Far East. Such attempts are inevitably doomed to failure. The Soviet Union and the K.P.D.R. fully and completely support the demand of the P.R.C. that the U.S. should abandon this aggressive policy fraught with grave consequences for peace.

The Soviet Union and the K.P.D.R. cannot remain indifferent to the fact of the occupation of Japan by American troops, or to the military collusion between the ruling circles of the U.S. and Japan spearheaded against neighbouring states. Both sides consider that the aggressive American-Japanese treaty concluded in 1960 was a step toward further aggravating the situation in the Far East. The security of Japan herself, as well as the interests of peace in the Far East, imperiously demand that Japan break the bonds of foreign occupation and take to the road of liquidating foreign military bases on her territory, the road of genuine national independence and a peaceful foreign policy.

x            x            x

During the stay of the Party and Government Delegation of the K.P.D.R. in Moscow, opinions were exchanged on questions of the activities of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Korean Party of Labour, the relations between them, and also on questions of the international communist movement. The talks revealed a complete identity of views of the leaders of the C.P.S.U. and the K.P.L. on all the questions discussed.

Tuesday, July 11, 1961

- 8 -

1

Both sides note with great satisfaction that as a result of the Moscow Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties in 1960 the fraternal parties and the entire socialist camp rallied even closer under the banner of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism, and the solidarity of the international workers' movement strengthened.

The Korean Party of Labour has always held that the C.P.S.U. is the universally recognized vanguard of the world communist movement and that the rich experience amassed by the C.P.S.U. in accomplishing the socialist revolution, in the building of socialism and communism is an example to it.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Korean Party of Labour consider it their prime task to work resolutely for the further strengthening of the unity and cohesion of the countries of the socialist camp, for the militant unity of the international communist movement on the immutable foundation of Marxism-Leninism, and constantly to educate the working people of their countries in the spirit of international solidarity. They will remain intolerant, in the Leninist way, of any and all manifestations of revisionism, dogmatism, sectarianism, backsliding from the principles of socialist internationalism.

The representatives of both Parties note with satisfaction that the fraternal cooperation between the two Parties has been further strengthened and extended, that mutual information and exchanges of opinion on questions of interest to both Parties are being effected.

The talks have shown that the C.P.S.U. and the K.P.L. are resolved to continue to strengthen and extend the friendly ties existing between them.

Both sides express their conviction that the visit of the Party and Government Delegation of the K.P.D.R. will serve further to deepen the friendly fraternal ties and cooperation between the Soviet Union and the Korean People's Democratic Republic, to strengthen the unity and cohesion of the great and mighty family of the socialist states, to strengthen universal peace.

N.S. Khrushchov,  
First Secretary of the  
C.C. C.P.S.U., Chairman  
of the Council of  
Ministers of the U.S.S.R.

Kim Il Sung,  
Chairman of the C.C. K.P.L.,  
Chairman of the Cabinet of  
Ministers of the K.P.D.R.

(Pravda, Izvestia. In full.)

Tuesday, July 11, 1961

2

DR. KWAME NKRUMAH, PRESIDENT AND HEAD OF THE  
REPUBLIC OF GHANA, ARRIVES IN MOSCOW

Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, President and Head of the Government of the Republic of Ghana, outstanding statesman and public figure, arrived in Moscow on July 10, at the invitation of N.S. Khrushchov, Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers, as the official guest of the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet and Council of Ministers.

The Vnukovo airport was festively decorated. A streamer on the facade of the airport building read--"Welcome President Kwame Nkrumah!"; there were portraits of Kwame Nkrumah, N.S. Khrushchov and L.I. Brezhnev; and on the masts fluttered the state flags of the African and Soviet states.

Dr. Kwame Nkrumah was met at the airport by N.S. Khrushchov, L.I. Brezhnev, A.I. Mikoyan, Y.A. Furtseva, Vice Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers V.N. Novikov, and other officials.

At the airport Dr. Kwame Nkrumah and L.I. Brezhnev exchanged speeches.

Speech by L.I. Brezhnev

Highly esteemed Mr. President,

Dear guests from friendly Ghana,

Comrades,

Allow me, on behalf of the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet, the Soviet Government, the Soviet people and on my own behalf to heartily welcome, you, Mr. President and those accompanying you, to the capital of the Soviet Union, Moscow.

We are very happy that one of the leaders of new Africa, President of the independent Republic of Ghana, our esteemed friend Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, and his colleagues, have come to our country.

We welcome you as representatives of the freedomloving African country with which firm friendship and close cooperation are successfully developing, as representatives of a people actively fighting for the complete eradication of colonialism, for the consolidation of peace and friendship among all the peoples.

Tuesday, July 11, 1961

- 2 -

We know quite well that Ghana is a country greatly interested in the preservation of universal peace and that its leaders are fully conscious of the importance of this great cause.

The Soviet people follow with deep sympathy the course of a new life in Ghana and rejoice in the achievement of your Republic's first steps, for example of those which show that tremendous successes can be achieved by a people who have taken to the path of independent development.

I vividly recall my recent visit to your tiny country and the warm manifestation of friendship shown by the people of Ghana towards the Soviet Union towards our people, the government of our country and the Red Army. I do not doubt, dear friends, that you too will be heartily received by the Soviet people.

This is your first visit to this country, Mr. President, and it is our desire, with that you and your party was the life of the Soviet people, the national reconstruction that it going on everywhere in the cities and villages, on the farms, in the work and rest of our country.

You will find in the Soviet country citizens and true friends of the independence, to the Soviet Union, and you will see for yourselves the friendly feelings and people entertain towards the people of Africa.

permit me to express the hope that you and your party will be able to bring back to your country the results of your stay - will be pleasant and useful.

We, on our part, are sure that the visit of the distinguished guests of the Soviet Union will help to further strengthen Soviet-Ghanaian friendship.

Believe me, dear friends!

Respectfully,  
Believe me, dear friends!

Speech by Leonid Brezhnev

Dear friends from the Soviet Union!

I wish to thank you very much for the very kind words you have just said and for the warm and friendly reception you have given to the Soviet Union.

It is indeed a great joy for me to be here, to have known you and all the people of Ghana with their rich, fruitful traditions of the people of the Republic of Ghana.

Tuesday, July 11, 1961

- 3 -

2

I also wish to thank you and the Soviet people for the invitation to visit your great country. I impatiently awaited my trip here and the chance of resuming our friendly meetings, of meeting the people of the Soviet Union for the first time, and also of seeing with my own eyes the great achievements of the Soviet people of which we have heard so much and which are the glorious result of the Communist revolution and reconstruction.

It was a great pleasure for the government and people of Ghana to receive Mr. Brezhnev, President of the Soviet Union, in Ghana where he stayed several days. We preserve fine reminiscences of his visit.

I also recall with pleasure my meeting with Mr. Khrushchov in New York and the most heartfelt and friendly talks we had.

I fervently hope that my visit will not only consolidate still further the cordial relations established between our two countries, but also substantially strengthen our resolve to rout imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism in Africa and will facilitate the further difficult, but victorious advance of the African peoples toward their goal, namely, to complete political and economic liberation and African unity, i.e., political and economic unification of the African continent.

I am confident that my visit to the Soviet Union will undoubtedly lead to the establishment of better understanding and consolidation of friendship between the people of Ghana and the people of the Soviet Union.

I thank you once again for your warm reception.

X X X

The speeches by L.I. Brezhnev and Kwame Nkrumah were listened to with great attention and repeatedly interrupted by applause.

The distinguished guest, together with N.S. Khrushchov and L.I. Brezhnev drove off in an open car to the city...

Tens of thousands of Muscovites filled the streets and squares to greet the President and head of the government of the Republic of Ghana. As the motorcade proceeded along Lenin Prospekt cries rang out in honour of Soviet-Ghanaian friendship, the distinguished guest, and the Soviet leaders.

(Pravda. Speeches in full.)